# WILSON URGES DOWNWARD REVISION OF THE TARIFF

## Schedule by Schedule Reduction Is Favored by Democratic Candidate

Business Men Willing to Entrust Control of Government to Democrats Without Fear, Declares New Jersey Governor.

to speak to the country as well as to yourselves.

We cannot intelligently talk politics unless we know to whom we are talking and in what circumstances. The present circumstances are clearly unusual. No previous political campaign in our time has disclosed anything like them. The audience we address is in no ordinary temper. It is no audience of partisans. Citisens of every class and party and prepossession sit together, a single people, to learn whether we understand their life and know how to afford them the counsel and guidance they are now keenly aware that they stand in need of. We must speak, not to catch votes, but to satisfy the thought and conscience of a people deeply stirred by the conviction that they have come to a critical turning point in their moral and political development.

Notion Awakened

There never was a time when impationce and suspicion were more keenly aroused by private power selfishly employed; when jealousy of everything concealed or touched with any purpose not linked with general good, or inconsistent with it, more sharply or immediately displayed itself.

### Wise Counsel Will Be Readily Heeded.

Nor was the country ever more susceptible to unselfish appeals or to the high arguments of sincere justice. of men-the unthinking mixed with the These are the unmistakable symptons of an awakening. There is the more need for wise counsel because the people are and you know what they sometimes so ready to heed counsel if it be given honestly and in their interest.

It is in the broad light of this new day that we stand face to face—with what? Plainly, not with questions of party, not

with a contest for office, not with a pet-ty struggle for advantage, Democrat against Republican, liberal against conservative, progressive against reaction-ary. With great questions of right and of justice, rather—questions of national development, of the development of character and of standards of action no character and of standards of action no less than of a better business system, more free, more equitable, more open to ordinary men, practicable to live under, tolerable to work under, or a better fiscal system whose taxes shall not come out of the pockets of the many to go into the pockets of the few, and within whose intricacles special privilege may not so easily find covert. The forces of the nation are asserting themforces of the nation are asserting them-selves against every form of special privilege and private control, and are seeking bigger things than they have ever heretofore achieved. They are sweeping away what is unrighteous in vindicate once more the essential rights of human life; and, what is very serious for us, they are looking to us for guidance, disinterested guidance, honest and fearless.

## Wants a Definite

Program Set Forth. At such a time, and in the presence of such circumstances, what is the meaning of our platform, and what is our responsibility under it? What are our duty and our purpose? The platform is meant to show that we know what the nation is thinking about, what it is most concerned about, what it wishes corrected, and what it desires to see attempted that is new and con-structive and intended for its long fustructive and intended for its long fu-ture. But for us it is a very practical document. We are not about to ask the people of the United States to adopt our platform; we are about to ask them to entrust us with office and power and the guidance of their affairs. They will wish to know what sort of men we are and of what definite purpose; what translation of action and of policy we intend to give to the general terms of the platform which the convention at the platform which the convention at Ealtimore put forth, should we be

Ealtimore put forth, should we be elected.

The platform is not a program. A program must consist of measures, administrative acts, and acts of legislation. The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof. How do we intend to make it edible and digestible? From this time on we shall be under interrogation. How do we expect to handle each of the great matters that must be taken up by the next Congress and the next Administration?

What is there to do? It is hard to sum the great task up, but apparently this is the sum of the matter; There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right with representative government; it falls under question only when it ceases to be representative. It is at bottom a question of good faith and morals.

Tariff Must Be

Entirely Revised.

How does the present tariff look in the light of it? I say nothing for the moment about the policy of protection, conceived and carried out as a dislinterested statesman night conceive it. Our own clear conviction as Democrats is, that in the last analysis the only safe and legitimate object of tariff dusties, as of taxes of every other kind,

Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance was as follows:

Speaking for the national Democratic convention, recently assembled at Baltimore, you have potified me of my nomination by the Democratic party for the high office of President of the United States. Allow me to thank you very warmly for the generous terms in which you have, through your distinguished chairman conveyed the notification, and for the thoughtful personal courtesy with which you have parformed your interesting and important errand.

I accept the nomination with a deep sense of its unusual significance and of the great honor done me, and also with a very profound sense of my responsibility to the party and to the nation. You will expect me in brief, to talk politics and open the campaign in words whose meaning no one need doubt. You will expect me to speak to the country as well as to yourselves.

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## Revolution Is Not

Revolution Is Not has discissed anything like them. The has discissed anything like them. The tamper, it is no audience of a gardinance control of the counted and guidance they are not the counted that the property of the guidance they are not the counted that the property of the guidance they are not guidance they are not the guidance they a

comprehends of great complicated mat-ters of government. They shrug their shoulders and lift their eyebrows when you speak as if you really believed in Presidential primaries, in direct election of United States Senators, and in an utter publicity about everything that

## concerns government, from the sources of campaign funds to the intimate de-bate of the highest affairs of state. Spokesmen Chosen Out of Every Class.

They do not, or will not, comprehend the solemn thing that is in your thought. You know as well as they do that there are all sorts and conditions wise, the reckless with the prudent, the unscrupulous with the fair and honestforget, that every class, without exception, affords a sample of the mixture the learned and the fortunate no less the learned and the fortunate no less than the uneducated and the struggling mass. But you see more than they do. You see that these multitudes of men, mixed of every kind and quality constitute somehow an organic and noble whole, a single people, and that they have interests which no man can priyately determine without their knowledge and counsel. That is the meanhave interests which no man bar have interests which no man bar without their knowly yately determine without their knowly yately determine without their knowly and counsel. That is the meanyately determine without their knowledge and counsel. That is the meaning of representative government itself. Representative government is nothing more nor less than an effort to give voice to this great body through spokesmen chosen out of every grade and class.

You may think that I am wandering off into a general disquisition that has little to do with the business in hand; but I am not. This is business—business of the deepest sort. It will solve our difficulties if you will but take it as business.

See how it makes business out of the tariff question. The tariff question, as

See how it makes business out of the tariff question. The tariff question, as dealt with in our time at any rate, has not been business. It has been politics. Tariff schedules have been made up for the purpose of keeping as large a number as possible of the rich and influential manufacturers of the country in a good humor with the Republican party, which desired their constant financial support. The tariff has become a system of favors, which the phraseology of the schedule was often deliberately contrived to conceal. It becomes a matter of business, of legitimate business, only when the partnership and

## Some Salient Features in Governor Wilson's Speech of Acceptance

The nation has awakened to s sense of neglected ideals and negected duties.

We need no revolution; no excited change; we need only a new point of view, and a new method and spirit of counsel.

The tariff question as dealt with in our time at any rate has not been business; it has been

There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and strictly

Prices climb faster than we can push our earnings up.

Big business is not dangerous because it is big, but because its bigness is an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy.

We have been keen for Presidential primaries and the direct election of United States Sena-



WOODROW WILSON.

tors, because we wanted the action of the Government to be dee termined by persons whom the people had actually delegated as United States.

men whom they were ready to trust and follow.

We have been anxious that all campaign contributions and expenditures should be disclosed to the public in fullest detail, because we regarded the influences which govern campaigns to be as much a part of the people's business as anything else connected with their government.

I do not know any greater question than that of conservation. We have been a spendthrift nation and must now husband what we have left.

I could not have accepted a nomination which left me bound to any man or any group of men. free; and no man who has to show favors ought to undertake the solemn responsibility of government in any rank or post whatever, least of all in the supreme post of President of the

economies in administration and increase efficiency by simplifying and perfecting organization; but, whether they effect economies or not, they can very easily determine prices by intimate agreement, so soon as they come to control a sufficient percentage of the product in any great line of business, and we now know that they do.

I am not drawing up an indictment against anybody. This is the natural history of such tariffs as are now contrived, as it is the natural history of all other governmental favors and of all licenses to use the Government to help it should, before it is finished or intermitted, be extended to every item in every schedule which affords any opportunity for monopoly, for special advantage to limited groups of beneficiaries, or for subsidized control of any kind in the markets or the enterprises of the country; until special favors of every sort shall have been absolutely withdrawn and every part of our laws of taxation shall have been transformed from a system of governmental patronage into a system of just and reasonable charges which shall fall where they will create the least burden. When we shall have done that, we can fix questions of revenue and of business adjustment in a new spirit and with clear minds. We shall then be partners with all the business men of the country, and a day of freer, more table preparents. licenses to use the Government to help certain groups of individuals along in life. Nobody in particular, I suppose, is to blame, and I am not interested is to blame, and I am not interested just now in blaming anybody; I am simply trying to point out what the situation is, in order to suggest what there is for us to do, if we would serve the country as a whole. The fact is, that the trusts have been formed, have gained all but complete control of have gained all but complete control of the larger enterprises of the country, have fixed prices and fixed them high so that profits might be rolled up that were thoroughly worth while, and that the tariff, with its artificial protections and stimulations, gave them the oppor-tunity to do those things, and has safe-guarded them in that opportunity.

with clear minds. We shall then be partners with all the business men of the country, and a day of freer, more stable prosperity shall have dawned.

There has been no more demoralizing influence in our politics in our time than the influence of the idea that the Government was the grand dispenser of favors, the maker and unmaker of fortunes, and of opportunities such as certain men have sought in order to control the movement of trade and industry throughout the continent. It has made the Government a prize to be captured and parties the means of effecting the capture. It has made the business men of one of the most virile and enterprising nations in the world timid, fretful, full of alarms; has robbed them of self-confidence and manly force, until they have cried out that they could do nothing without the assistance of the Government at Washington. It has made them feel that their lives depended upon the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate (in these later years particularly the Finance Committee of the Senate). They have insisted very anxiously that these committees should be made up only of their "friends," until the country in its turn grew suspicious and wondered how those committees were being guided and controlled, by what influences and Trusts No Longer Infant Industries. The trusts do not belong to the period of infant industries. They are not the products of the time, that old laborious time, when the great continent we live on was undeveloped, the young nation struggling to find itself and get upon its feet amidst older and more experienced competitors. They belong to a very recent and very sophisticated age, when men knew what they wanted and knew how to get it by the favor of the government. It is another chapter in the natural history of power and of "governing classes." The next chapter will set us free again. There will be no flavor of tragedy in the life. See, how it makes business out of the tariff question, are controlled to the property of the schedule have been made up for the tariff and property of the schedule when the property of the schedule of the property of the p

centers, of men acquainted with one another and intimately associated in business, than because anyone had conceived and was carrying out a plan of general control; but they are none the less potent a force in our economic and financial system on that account. They are part of our problem. Their very existence gives rise to the suspicion of a "money trust," a concentration of the control of credit which may at any time become infinitely dangerous to free enterprise. If such a concentration and control does not actually exist, it is evident that it can easily be set up and used at will. Laws must be devised which will prevent this, if laws can be worked out by fair and free counsel that will accomplish that result without destroying or seriously embarrassing any sound or legitimate business undertaking or necessary and wholesome arrangement.

Business Men Now

two among influential men of business, and, what is perhaps even more significant, among the lawyers who are their expert advisers; and that this spirit has displayed itself very notably in the last few months in an effort to return, in some degree at any rate. in the last few months in an effort to return, in some degree at any rate, to the practices of genuine competition. Only a very little while ago our men of business were united in resisting every proposal of change and reform as an attack on business, an embarrassment to all large enterprise, an intimation that settled ideas of property were to

# Nation Seen in Political Upheaval of Recent Days

Wise Counsel Needed to Guide Aright At This Time This Spirit of Reform, So As to Benefit

Awakening Conscience of

All Classes.

law or by private agreement, as a con-cession yielded to keep him from agita-tion and a disturbance of our peace. Here, again, the sense of universal part-nership must come into play if we are to act like statesmen, as those who serve, not a class, but a nation.

thing done for the workingman, by law or by private agreement, as a concession yielded to keep him from agitation and a disturbance of our peace, Here, again, the sense of universal parton and a disturbance of our peace, Here, again, the sense of universal parton and the continued of the contin whatever arrangement of government will be most serviceable to thier free-dom and development. Here, again, we are to set up the rule of justice and of right.

## Direct Primaries

will prevent this, if laws can be worked out by fair and free counsel that will accomplish that result without destroying or seriously embarrassing any sound or legitimate business undertaking or necessary and wholesome arrangement.

Business Men Now

In Favor of Changes.

Let me say again, that what we are seeking is not destruction of any kind, nor the disruption of any sound or honest thing, but merely the rule of right and of the common advantage. I am happy to say that a new spirit has begun to show itself in the last year or two among influential men of business,

### Time to Wake Up On Conservation

I do not know any greater question than that of conservation. We have now husband what we have left. We must do more than that. We must develop, as well as preserve, our water powers, and must add great waterways to the transportation facilities of the nation, to supplement the railways within our borders as well as upon the within our borders as well as upon the isthmus. We must revive our merchant marine, too, and fill the seas again with our own fieets. We must add to our present postoffice service a parcels post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand, as well as hearten them with justice and opportunity. This is the constructive work of government. This is the policy that has a vision and a hope and that looks to serve mankind.

investments.

The question of a merchant marine turns back to the tariff again, to which all roads seem to lead, and to our registry laws, which if coupled with the tariff, might almost be supposed to have and take courage.

matters so long as we regard every-been intended to take the American flas off the seas. Bounties are not neces things that have been done. Without a

supremacy in the markets and enter-prises of the world unless its people are given the ease and effectiveness that come only with knowledge and training. Education is part of the great task of conservation, part of the task of re-newal and of perfected power. We have set ourselves a great pro-

The rule of the people is no idle phrase. Those who believe in it—as who does not that has caught the real spirit of America?—believe that there can be no rule of right without it. It must be a party without for the spirit and the point of view of the new age. Men are turnled. of America?—believe that there can be no rule of right without it; that right in politics is made up of the interest of everybody, and everybody should take part in the action that is to determine it. We have been keen for Presidential primaries and the direct election of United States Senators, because we wanted the action of the government to be determined by persons whom the people had actually delegated as men whom they were ready to trust and follow. We have been anxious that all campaign contributions and expenditures should be disclosed to the public in fullest detail, because we regarded the influences which govern campaigns to be as much a part of the people's

see our present distempers made an end of and our old free, co-operative life restored.

We should go into this campaign confident of only cne thing,—confident of what we want to do if intrusted with the government. It is not a partisan right we are entering upon. We are happily excused from personal attacks upon opponents and from all general indictments against the men opposed to us. The facts are patent to everybody; we do not have to prove them; the more frank among our opponents and mit them. Our thinking must be constructive from start to finish. We must show that we understand the problems that confront us, and that we are soberly minded to deal with them, apulying to them, not nostrums and noulying to them, not nostrums and no-tions, but hard sense and good cour-

### Cause, Not Men. Chief Importance.

A Presidential campaign may easily degenerate into a mure personal contest and so lose its real dignity and significance. There is no indispensable man. The government will not collapse and go to pleces if any one of the gentlemen who are seeking to oc intrusted with its guidance should be left at home. But men are instrumarine, too, and fill the seas again with our own fleets. We must add to our present postoffice service a parcels post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand, as well as a hearten them with justice and opportunity. This is the constructive work of government. This is the policy that has a vision and a hope and that looks to serve mankind.

There are many sides to these great matters. Conservation is easy to generalize about, but hard to particularize about wisely. Reservation is not they whole of conservation. The development of great States must not be stayed indefinitely to await a policy by which our forcests and water powers can prudently be made use of. Use and development must go hand in hand. The policy we adopt must be progressive, not negative, merely, as if we did not know what to do.

With regard to the development of greater and more numerous waterways and the building up of a merchant marrine, we must follow great constructive lines and not fall back upon the cheap device of bounties and subsidies. In the case of the Mississippi river, that great central artery of our trade, it is plain, too, that vast sums of money must be spent to develop new waterways where trade will be most served and transportation most readily cheapened by them. Such executives and transportation most readily cheapened by them. Such executives and transportation most readily cheapened by them. Such executives and transportation most readily cheapened by them. Such executives and transportation most readily cheapened by them. Such executives and transportation and upon free terms. I know the temper of the Government; they are national investments.

The question of a merchant marine turns back to the tariff again, to which ments. We are as important as the cause we represent, and in order to be nominated me; I know the temper of the country that lay back of that con-vention and spoke through it. I heed with deep thankfulness the message you bring me from it. I feel that I am surrounded by men whose princi-ples and ambitions are those of true